

Message Text

SECRET

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ACTION AF-10

INFO OCT-01 EUR-12 ISO-00 PM-04 NSC-05 SP-02 SS-15
CIAE-00 INR-07 NSAE-00 DODE-00 ACDA-07 IO-13
ARA-06 EB-08 TRSE-00 IGA-02 NEA-10 /102 W
-----282112Z 034349 /45

R 281809Z APR 77
FM AMEMBASSY BONN
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 7801
INFO AMEMBASSY ADDIS ABABA
AMEMBASSY KHARTOUM
AMEMBASSY MOGADISCIO
AMEMBASSY PARIS
AMEMBASSY LONDON
AMEMBASSY ROME

S E C R E T SECTION 01 OF 02 BONN 07380

E.O. 11652: GDS
TAGS: PFOR US ET SO SU SA
SUBJECT: EXCHANGE OF VIEWS WITH FRG CONCERNING HORN
OF AFRICA

REFS: (A) STATE 92304; (B) STATE 93868; BONN 6497

BEGIN SUMMARY: FRG VIEWS ON THE HORN PARALLEL OURS.
THE FRG SEEKS A COORDINATED WESTERN POSITION IN ORDER
TO REGAIN THE WEST'S INFLUENCE IN SOMALIA. END SUMMARY.

1. EMBASSY APPRECIATED GUIDANCE IN REFTEL (A). WE
USED IT TO EXCHANGE VIEWS ON HORN WITH FONOFF (SCHACKY),
WHO WILL USE OUR VIEWS IN PREPARING THE GERMAN POSITION
FOR A MEETING OF EC AFRICAN EXPERTS IN LONDON
SCHEDULED FOR MAY 2 AND 3. THE HORN IS ON THE AGENDA
FOR THIS MEETING.

2. IT APPEARS FROM SCHACKY'S DESCRIPTION OF GERMAN
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VIEWS THAT THEY ARE QUITE CLOSE TO OURS. THE FRG
BELIEVES THAT THE WEST HAS AN OPPORTUNITY TO REGAIN ITS
LOST POSITION IN SOMALIA. AT THE SAME TIME, GIVEN THE
POLITICAL DISINTEGRATION TAKING PLACE IN ETHIOPIA, THE
REVERSES WHICH THE WEST IS SUFFERING THERE ARE NOT AS
SERIOUS AS THEY COULD BE. SCHACKY POINTS OUT THAT TODAY
ADDIS ABABA'S AUTHORITY IS PRACTICALLY NON-EXISTENT

IN THE OUTLYING PROVINCES. HE EXPECTS THAT ERITREA MAY WELL GAIN ITS INDEPENDENCE, TIGRE PROVINCE MAY ALSO, AND PART OF THE OGADEN REGION WILL SPLIT OFF FROM ETHIOPIA.

3. THE FRG REGARDS THE OUTCOME OF CASTRO'S AND PODGORNÝ'S VISITS TO SOMALIA AS A REAL SETBACK TO THE USSR. ACCORDING TO SCHACKY, PRESIDENT BARRE'S REPLY TO CASTRO'S SUGGESTION THAT SOMALIA HAS "SOCIALIST INTERNATIONAL OBLIGATIONS" (NATIONAL INTERESTS COME FIRST) WAS WHAT PROMPTED PODGORNÝ'S VISIT. THE RUSSIAN DID NOT SUCCEED IN RECOVERING THE GROUND LOST BY CASTRO.

4. THE FRG BELIEVES THAT IT IS ESSENTIAL FOR THE WEST TO ARRIVE AT A COORDINATED POSITION IF IT IS TO EXPLOIT SUCCESSFULLY ITS OPPORTUNITY IN SOMALIA. THE FRG IS, THEREFORE, SEEKING A COMMON EC-9 POSITION AND ADVOCATING THAT THIS POSITION BE CLOSELY COORDINATED WITH THE US. UNTIL AT LEAST AN EC POSITION IS ARRIVED AT, SCHACKY CAUTIONED THAT THE GERMAN VIEWS ARE ONLY PRELIMINARY.

5. FROM THE GERMAN POINT OF VIEW, THERE ARE CERTAIN PARAMETERS WITHIN WHICH THE WEST'S POSITION MUST BE DEVELOPED. ONE OF THE MOST IMPORTANT IS THE ARAB DESIRE TO AVOID A SUPER POWER PRESENCE IN THE AREA. THEREFORE, THE WEST SHOULD NOT SEEK TO HAVE THE US REPLACE THE USSR IN SOMALIA. RATHER, WE SHOULD
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DIRECT OUR EFFORTS TOWARD SUPPORT OF GREATER ARAB -- PRINCIPALLY SUDANESE AND SAUDI ARABIAN -- INFLUENCE ON THE HORN. THIS SUPPORT SHOULD BE UNOBTRUSIVE AND CONVEYED TO THE ARABS PRIVATELY. THIS COURSE OF ACTION HAS BEEN RECOMMENDED BY EGYPTIAN OFFICIALS TO THE FRG AMBASSADOR IN CAIRO. THESE OFFICIALS HAVE ALSO POINTED TO EGYPTIAN INTEREST IN THE HORN.

6. ONCE ACCEPTING THE ARABS AS THE PRINCIPAL ACTORS, THE WEST SHOULD BE PREPARED TO OFFER SOMALIA BOTH ECONOMIC ASSISTANCE AND ARMS. THE FRG ITSELF WILL NOT BE ABLE TO SUPPLY ARMS, BUT SCHACKY BELIEVES THAT THE UK AND FRANCE MAY BE ABLE TO. THE FRG WILL BE ABLE TO SUPPLY ECONOMIC ASSISTANCE, BUT IT IS TOO EARLY TO SPEAK OF CONCRETE FIGURES. FOR BOTH BUDGETARY AND PERSONNEL REASONS, THE FRG DOES NOT PLAN TO OPEN AN OFFICE IN DJIBOUTI. IT WILL ACCREDIT AN AMBASSADOR IN THE NEIGHBORHOOD (NOT FROM ADDIS ABABA OR MOGADISCIO) TO THE NEW GOVERNMENT.

7. THE AFRICAN DEPARTMENT OF THE FOREIGN OFFICE IS

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ALSO CONSIDERING HOW THE FRG CAN MAKE ITS INTEREST
IN THE HORN MORE EVIDENT WITHOUT ITS BECOMING COUNTER-
PRODUCTIVE OR UNDERCUTTING THE ARAB ROLE. WHEN FOREIGN
MINISTER GENSCHER VISITS ZAIRE IN MAY, HE WILL ALSO
VISIT GABON TO CONSULT WITH PRESIDENT BONGO IN THE
LATTER'S ROLE AS THE FUTURE OAU CHAIRMAN. BY VISITING
BONGO IN GABON AND BY NOT VISITING ADDIS ABABA THE
FRG IS TRYING TO SIGNAL ITS INTEREST IN THE OAU AS AN
ORGANIZATION, DISTINCT FROM ITS HEADQUARTER'S SITE. THE
AFRICAN DEPARTMENT MAY ALSO RECOMMEND THAT GENSCHER
MAKE ANOTHER VISIT TO AFRICA AT THE END OF 1977.
POSSIBLE STOPS ARE KENYA, WHICH HAS A
RELATIVELY HIGH PRIORITY IN GERMAN THINKING, AND
TANZANIA. A STOP IN SOMALIA IS NOT RULED OUT AT
THIS STAGE.

8. SCHACKY SAID THAT FONOFF SEVERAL WEEKS AGO HAD
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REQUESTED FRG EMBASSY IN WASHINGTON TO OBTAIN A BRIEFING ON THE HORN FROM THE DEPARTMENT. WHEN NO REPLY WAS RECEIVED, THE FONOFF MADE ITS REQUEST THROUGH US (REFTEL C). COINCIDENTALLY, THE EMBASSY IN WASHINGTON CARRIED OUT ITS INSTRUCTIONS, WHICH IS WHAT CAUSED THE APPROACH TO US THROUGH TWO CHANNELS. THE FONOFF HAS INTERPRETED ITS EMBASSY'S REPORT OF ITS MEETING IN THE DEPARTMENT AS INDICATING THE POSSIBILITY OF US ARMS AID TO SOMALIA. WE USED THE DEPARTMENT'S GUIDANCE TO SOUND A CAUTIONARY NOTE ON THIS POINT.

9. SCHACKY EXPRESSED THE INTENTION OF INFORMING US FURTHER ON GERMAN VIEWS, SPECIFICALLY FOLLOWING THE EC MEETING IN LONDON NEXT WEEK.

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